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ART. III.—*The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana.* By  
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[Read 19th February, 1859.]

PHILOSTRATUS, in his life of Apollonius Tyanensis, has given an account of that philosopher's visit to India; and as he professes to have drawn his materials from the note-book of Damis, Apollonius's fellow traveller and friend, as indeed he professes to have edited that note-book much as Hawkesworth edited the journals of Cook, we may fairly assume that he has given an original and authentic account of India, and the only one that has come down to us from the olden world in a complete state. Again, as Apollonius was the only Greek who up to this time had visited India for other purposes than those of war, negotiation, or commerce; as he visited it to make himself acquainted with its rites, discipline, and doctrines; and as he travelled unincumbered by a retinue, and was welcomed by its kings, and was, with Damis, for four months the guest of its Brahmans; he, and Damis with him, had every opportunity of familiar intercourse with all classes of its population, and of thus acquiring much and accurate information on matters beyond the reach of ordinary travellers. Philostratus's account, then, is full of promise; and I propose to give a condensed translation of it, and afterwards to examine into its authority and value.

Towards the close of the first half century of our era, Apollonius being then upwards of 40 years of age<sup>1</sup> and resident at Antioch, set out to visit India, its Brahmans and Sramans (Γερμανες). He took with him only two family slaves, to act apparently as his secretaries<sup>2</sup>; arrived at Nineveh, he met with and was joined by Damis, a native of the place, who recommended himself to his notice by a practical knowledge of the road to Babylon, and an acquaintance with the Persian, Armenian, and Cadusian languages. Together they journey

<sup>1</sup> Yet he speaks of himself as a young man, *προσηκειν γαρ νερανδρι αποδημειν*—I. B. 18 c.

<sup>2</sup> I presume this from their qualifications; the one is a good, the other a quick penman: *μετα δυοιν θεριαποντων, οίπερ αυτω πατρικω ηστην, ο μιν ες ταχος γραφων, ο δ' ες καλλος.*—*ib.*

on to Babylon, but warned by a dream first turn aside to visit Cassia and those Eretrians, whom Darius, 500 years before, had settled there, and whom they find still speaking Greek, and still, as they heard, using Greek letters<sup>1</sup>, and still dwelling near that wondrous fountain Herodotus so carefully described.

At Babylon, Apollonius and his friend and attendants remain 18 months; and then, in the beginning of summer, proceed for India on camels, and with a guide furnished by the Parthian king Bardanes. Of their route we know only that it lay through a rich and pleasant country, and that the villages they passed hurried to do them honour and to supply their wants; for a gold plate on their leading camel announced them guests of the king. We now hear of them enjoying the perfumed air<sup>2</sup> at the foot of Caucasus, the Hindu-kuh, which, while it separates India from Media, extends by one of its branches to the Red Sea<sup>3</sup>. Of this mountain, they heard from the barbarians myths like those of the Greek. They were told of Prometheus and Hercules, not the Theban, and of the eagle; some pointed to a cavern, others to the mountain's two peaks, a stadium apart, as the place where Prometheus was bound, and his chains, though of what made it is not easy to guess<sup>4</sup>, still hung, Darius says, from the rocks. His memory too is still dear to the mountaineers, who for his sake still pursue the eagle with hate; and now lay snares for it, and now with fiery javelins destroy its nest<sup>5</sup>. On the mountain they find the

<sup>1</sup> The Germans whom Theodoric in the sixth century located in the mountains of the Vicentino, and who are known as the "Sette Comuni," are to this day Germans; and the French refugees after the Edict of Nantes, who settled at Friedrichsdorf in Hesse Homburg, are still French; that these Eretrians then should during so many years have retained their language and customs is nothing very extraordinary. But is it not strange that from the day of their expulsion from Greece their voice has never been heard save in these pages of Philostratus? and almost incredible, that, though so near to Babylon, they escaped the notice of Alexander and his historians, who the one so signally punished, and the other so carefully recorded the punishment of the perfidious and self-exiled Branchidae?—Strabo l. xi. xii. c. 49.

<sup>2</sup> So Burnes describes the plain of Peshawar, "thyme and violets perfumed the air," (*Cubool*, ii. 70.) At Muchnee "a sweet aromatic smell was exhaled from the grass and plants," (*ib.* 101).

<sup>3</sup> Wilford says "the Indian ocean is called Arunoda, or the Red Sea." (*As. Res.* viii. p. 316)

<sup>4</sup> Καὶ δεσμὰ ὁ Δαίμων ἀνηφθαί των πετρῶν λέγει, οὐ ραδία συμβαλλεῖν τὴν ὕλην.—II. B. 3 c.

<sup>5</sup> The same tale is in Arrian and Strabo. Wilford thus accounts for it: not far from Banyam is the den of Garuda, the bird-god; he devoured some servants of Maha Deva, and this drew upon him the resentment of that irascible deity, whose servants are called Pramat'has.—*As. Res.* viii. 259.

people already inclined to black<sup>1</sup>, and the men four cubits high: on the other side the Indus the men reached five cubits<sup>2</sup>. On their way to the river, as they were going along in the bright moonshine, an Empusa met them, who now in this form now in that, pursued them; but Apollonius, and his companions at his instigation, railed at it, the only safeguard against it, till it fled away jabbering<sup>3</sup>.

As they approached the summit of the mountain,—the dwelling of the Gods as their guide told them,—they found the road so steep that they were obliged to go on foot. On the other side, in the country between Caucasus and the Cophen<sup>4</sup>, they met men riding on elephants, but they were only elephant herdsman; others on dromedaries, which can run 1000 stadia in a day without rest<sup>5</sup>. Here an Indian on a dromedary rode up to them and asked their guide whither they were going; and when he heard the object of their journey he told the herdsman, who shouted for joy, called to them to come near, and gave them wine and honey, both got from the palm; and also slices of lion and panther flesh, just killed<sup>6</sup>. They accepted everything but the flesh, and rode onward in an easterly direction.

At a fountain they sat down to dine; and, in the course of conversation, Apollonius observed that they had met many Indians singing, dancing, and rolling about, drunk with palm-wine<sup>7</sup>, and that the Indian money was of orichalcum and bronze—purely Indian, and not stamped like the Roman and Median coins<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo xv. l. c. §13. Arrian, *Indica*, c. vi.

<sup>2</sup> Onesicritus Frag. *Hist. Alex.* Didot., p. 55, § 25. Lord Cornwallis (Correspondence) remarks on the great height of the Bengal Sepoys; Sir C. Napier (Life) thinks our infantry average two inches below them, but cover more ground. Tall men therefore; but five cubits!

<sup>3</sup> "At the foot of the Indus and Cabool river . . . an ignis fatuus shows itself every evening."—Burnes, II., p. 68.

<sup>4</sup> Cophen, the Cabool. Caucasus Grávakásas, the bright rock mountain, Bohnen, "Das Alte Indien," I. p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Elphinstone says "An elderly minister of the Raja of Bikaner . . . had just come on a camel 175 miles in three days. (Caulbul, Introduction, p. 230, I. v.) Sir C. Napier mentions a march of 80 or 90 miles by his camel corps without a halt ("Life of Sir Ch. Napier," II., 418), and has no doubt with riding camels of marching 200 miles in 48 hours.—III., 78.

<sup>6</sup> An exaggeration of a remark of Arrian's, probably: Σιτοφαγοὶ δὲ . . . Ἰνδοὶ εἰσιν, ὅσοι γε μὴ οἰεῖται αὐτῶν· οὗτοι δὲ τὰ θηρία κρεῖα σιτεύοντα. ("Indica," xvii. § 5) e.g. "bears' flesh and anything else they can get (Elphinstone of Caufiristan, *ib.* II., 434), "they all eat flesh half raw,"—*ib.* 438.

<sup>7</sup> Of the same mountaineers, Elphinstone: "they drink wine to excess" (*ib.*) Ælian, I. 61, speaks of the Indian drinking bouts; Pliny of the wine: "Reliquos vinum ut Indos palmis exprimero" (*Hist. Nat.*, vi, 32). The Vishnu Purana of wine from the Kadamba tree,—p. 571, note 2.

<sup>8</sup> The Indian money is: ἔλη κεκομψευμένη, metal refined, prepared: the

They crossed the Cophen, here not very broad or deep, themselves in boats, their camels on foot, and now entered a country subject to a king. Here they saw Mount Nysa; it rises up to a peak, like Tmolus<sup>1</sup> in Lydia. It is cultivated, and its ascent has thus been made practicable. On its summit they found a moderate sized temple of Bacchus; this temple was a circular plot of ground, enclosed by a hedgerow of laurels, vines, and ivy<sup>2</sup>, all of which had been planted by Bacchus himself, and had so grown and intertwined their branches together as to form a roof and walls impervious to the wind and rain. In the interior Bacchus had placed his own statue—in form an Indian youth, but of white stone. About and around it lay crooked knives, baskets, wine-vats in gold and silver, as if ready for the vintage. Aye, and the cities at the foot of the mountain hear and join in his orgies, and Nysa itself quakes with them.

About Bacchus<sup>3</sup>, Philostratus goes on to say—whether speaking in his own person or from the journal of Damis I know not—Greeks and Hindus are not agreed; for the former assert that the Theban Bacchus with his bacchanals conquered and overran India, and they cite, among other proofs, a discus of Indian silver in the treasury at Delphi, with this inscription: “Bacchus, Jove and Semele’s son, from India to the Delphian Apollo.” But of the latter, the Indians of the Caucasus believe that he was an Assyrian stranger, not unacquainted however with him of Thebes; while those of the Indus and Ganges declare that he was the son of the Indus<sup>4</sup>, and that the Theban Bacchus was his disciple and imitator, though he called himself the son of Jove,

Roman *κεχαργυρη* stamped. In Menu’s time gold and silver coins were probably unknown, for he gives (viii, 131,) “the name of copper, silver, and gold weights commonly used among men:” *ἤδη κεκομψευμένη* probably; but when Apollonius visited India we know that money, gold and silver coins were current, issued by the Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythic kings,—*vide* Lassen, “Baktrische Könige,” *passim*.

<sup>1</sup> Nishadha, probably, to the south of Meru (Vishnu Purana, 167.) Arrian similarly connects Tmolus with Nysa (Exped. Alex. v. 1.)

<sup>2</sup> Laurels and ivy Alexander finds on Meru; vines, too, by implication (Arrian Exped. v. ii. §5). Burnes says that in Cabool the vines are so plentiful that the grapes are given for three months in the year to cattle (*ut sup.* ii. 131. See also Wilson’s *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 193.)

<sup>3</sup> Chares (“Hist. Alex.,” p. 117, §13) one of the historians of Alexander, speaks of an Indian god *Σοπαδαιος*, which in Greek means *οινωποιος*, the wine maker, Sanscrit, Suradevas (von Bohnen), but the Vishnu Purana knows of no wine god, only of a wine goddess (*vide* p. 76). In general, however, Bacchus may be identified with Siva, and Hercules with Vishnu and Krishna.

<sup>4</sup> For the Indo-Bacchus myth see Arrian, v. 1, who receives it with hesitation; and Strabo, xv. 1, 9, who rejects it; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* II. 133; von Bohnen, *ut sup.*, I. 142; and Schwanbeck on Megasthenes, “Frag. Hist.,” II. 420, Didot.

and pretended to have been born of his thigh (*μυρρος*), from Meros, a mountain near to Nysa. They add, that in honour of the Indian Bacchus, he planted Nysa with vines brought from Thebes. And here, according to his historians, Alexander celebrated his orgies; while, according to the mountaineers, notwithstanding his love of glory and of antiquity, he never ascended the mountain<sup>1</sup>, but satisfied himself with prayer and sacrifice at its foot: he so feared lest the sight of the vines should raise in his soldiers, long accustomed to water, a longing for wine and the ease and pleasures of home.

The rock Aornus,<sup>2</sup> though at no great distance from Nysa, Damis says he did not visit, as it was somewhat out of their way. He heard, however, that it had been taken by Alexander; and was fifteen stadia in height; and that it was called Aornus, not because no bird could fly over it, but because there was a chasm on its summit which drew down to it all birds, much like the Parthenon at Athens, and several places in Phrygia and Lydia.

On their way to the Indus, they fell in with a lad about thirteen years old, riding an elephant and urging him on with a crooked rod, which he thrust into the elephant like an anchor. On the Indus itself they watched a troop of about thirty elephants, whom some huntsmen were pursuing<sup>3</sup>; and Apollonius admired the sagacity they displayed in crossing the river, for the smallest and lightest of them led the way, then followed the mothers holding up their cubs with their tusks and trunks, while the largest of them brought up the rear. He spoke of their docility; their love for their keeper, how they would eat out of his hand like dogs, coax him with their trunks, and, as he had seen among the nomads, open wide their mouths for him to thrust his head down their throats. He told too, how during the night they would bewail their slavery, not with their usual roar but with piteous moans; and how, out of respect for man, they would at his approach stay their wailing; and he referred their docility and ready obedience more to their own self-command and tractable nature, than to the skill or power of their guide and rider.

From the people they heard that elephants were found in the marsh, the mountain, and the plain. According to the Indians, the

<sup>1</sup> According to Arrian, *ut sup.* and II. 5, it was Meru that Alexander ascended, and on Meru that he feasted and sacrificed to Bacchus.

<sup>2</sup> Aornus; Awara, Awarana, a Stockade.—Wilson *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 192; but Renas according to v. Bohlen, and Rani-garh according to Lassen, *Indische Alterthums*: 140, note 7.

<sup>3</sup> Just in the same locality (see Arrian, IV. xxx. 7) Alexander first sees a troop of elephants, and afterwards joins in an elephant hunt.

marsh elephant is stupid and idle; its teeth are few and black, and often porous or knotted, and will not bear the knife. The mountain elephants are treacherous and malignant, and, save for their own ends, little attached to man; their teeth are small, but tolerably white, and not hard to work. The elephants of the plain are useful animals, tractable and imitative; they may be taught to write, and to dance and jump to the sound of the pipe; their teeth are very long and white, and the ivory-cutter can do with them just what he pleases. The Indians use the elephant in war; they fight from it in turrets, large enough for ten or fifteen archers or spearmen; and they say that it will itself join in the fight, holding and throwing the spear with its trunk as with a hand. The Indian elephant is of a large size, as much larger than the Libyan as this than the Nisæan horse. It lives to a great age, and Apollonius saw one in Taxila which had fought against Alexander about 350 years before, and which Alexander had honoured with the name of Ajax. On its tusks were golden bracelets, with this inscription: "Ajax to the sun, from Alexander, Jove's son." The people were accustomed to anoint it with unguents, and ornament it with garlands<sup>1</sup>.

When about to cross the Indus, their Babylonian guide, who was unacquainted with the river, presented to the Satrap of the Indus a letter from Bardanes. And the Satrap, out of regard to the king, though no officer of his, supplied them with his own barge for themselves, boats for their camels, and a guide to the Hydraotis. He also wrote to his sovereign, to beg him that, in his treatment of this Greek, and truly divine man, he would emulate the generosity of Bardanes.

Where they crossed, the Indus was forty stadia in breadth<sup>2</sup>. It takes its rise in the Caucasus<sup>3</sup>; and, from its very fountain, is larger (*μείζω αὐτοῦ*) than any other river in Asia<sup>4</sup>. In its course it receives

<sup>1</sup> Pliny (viii. v.) describes the elephant as crossing rivers in the same way; he speaks of their wonderful self-respect, "*mirus pudor*," and of one called Ajax; Arrian (*Indica*, c. 14 and 15) of their grief at being captured, of their attachment to their keepers, their love of music, and their long life extending though to but 200 years (Onesicritus gives them 300, and sometimes 500 years.—Strabo, xv.); Aelian (xiii. §9), and Pliny (viii.), state that they carry three warriors only, and are much larger than the African. The division into marsh and plain, &c., I suspect, is from Juba.

<sup>2</sup> Ctesias (58 §) says the Indus is 40 stadia where narrowest. See Lassen, *ut supra*, II. 637, who accounts for Ctesias' exaggeration (his reasons do not apply to Damis), and Wilson's Notes on the *Indica* of Ctesias, who excuses it (p. 13).

<sup>3</sup> "*Indus . . . in jugo Caucasii montis . . . effusus . . . undeviginti accipit annos . . . nusquam latior quinquaginta stadiis.*"—Pliny *Hist. Nat.*, vi. 23.

<sup>4</sup> So Ctesias, so Ibn Batuta: "The Scinde is the greatest river in the world, and overflows during the hot weather just as the Nile does; and at this time they

many navigable rivers. Like the Nile it overflows the country, and deposits a mud; and thus, as in Egypt, prepares the land for the husbandman. It abounds, like the Nile, with sea-horses and crocodiles<sup>1</sup>, as they themselves witnessed in crossing it (*κομιζόμενοι δε δια του Ινδου*); and it produces too the same flowers. In India the winter is warm, the summer stifling; but the heat, providentially, is moderated by frequent rains. The natives told him, that when the season for the rise of the river was at hand, the king sacrifices on its banks black bulls and horses (black, among them, because of their complexion being the nobler colour), and, after the sacrifice, throws into the river a gold measure, like a corn measure,—why, the people themselves knew not; but probably, as Apollonius conjectured, for an abundant harvest, or for such a moderate<sup>2</sup> rise of the river as would benefit the land.

The Indus passed, their new guide led them straight to Taxila, where was the palace of the Indian king. The people now wore cotton, the produce of the country, and sandals made of the fibre of the papyrus<sup>3</sup> (*υποδηματα βυβλου*), and a leather cap when it rained. The better classes were clad in byssus, a stuff with which Apollonius, who affected a yellowish colour in his dress, was much pleased. This byssus grows on a tree, like the poplar in its stem, but with leaves like the willow; it is exported into Egypt for sacred uses.

Taxila<sup>4</sup> was about the size of Nineveh, walled like a Greek city, and was the residence of a sovereign who ruled over what of old was the kingdom of Porus. Just outside the walls<sup>5</sup> was a temple of near a hundred feet, of porphyry<sup>6</sup> (*λιθου κογχυλιουτου*), and in it a shrine,

sow the land." Burnes, I think, shows that it carries a greater body of water than the Ganges.

<sup>1</sup> Eratosthenes gives it the same animals as the Nile, except the sea-horse. Onesicritus the sea-horse also; Strabo, xv. 1, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Sir C. Napier attributed a fever which prostrated his army and the natives, to an extraordinary rise of the Indus.—Quarterly Review, Oct. 1858, p. 499.

<sup>3</sup> Arrian's India: "Their dress is of cotton, their sandals of leather;" but Herodotus gives the Egyptian priests *υποδημα βυβλινα*, II. 37.

<sup>4</sup> Wilford (As. Res. viii. 349), speaks of Tashnaila and its ruins; Wilson identifies Taxila with Taksha-sila of the Hindus between the Indus and Hydaspes, in the vicinity of Manikyala.—Ar. Ant., 196. Arrian celebrates its size and wealth the largest city between the Indus and the Hydaspes. V. 8 c. Exped. Alex.

<sup>5</sup> Ram Raz, (Architecture of the Hindus, p. 2.) of the temples of Vishnu and Siva, says, that the latter should be without the village. Hiouen-Tsang (I. 151) describes Taxila, and speaks of a stupa and convent outside the walls, built by Asoka.

<sup>6</sup> The tope of Manikyala, described by Elphinstone, is 100 feet in circumference, and 70 feet high (Ar. Ant. 31). Lassen (II. 514 and 1151) speaks of the influence of Greek art on Indian architecture; but adds, that the Indians built



small, considering the size of the temple and its many columns, but still very beautiful. Round the shrine were hung pictures on copper tablets, representing the feats of Alexander and Porus. In these tablets the elephants, horses, soldiers, and armour, were portrayed in a mosaic<sup>1</sup> of orichalcum, silver, gold, and tinted copper (μελανι χαλκῳ); the spears, javelins, and swords in iron; but the several metals were all worked into one another with so nice a gradation of tints, that the pictures they formed, in correctness of drawing, vivacity of expression, and truthfulness of perspective<sup>2</sup>, reminded one of the productions of Zeuxis, Polygnotus and Euphranor. They told too of the noble character of Porus, for it was not till after the death of Alexander that he placed them in the temple,—and this, though they represented Alexander as a conqueror, and himself as conquered and wounded, and receiving from Alexander the kingdom of India.

In this temple they wait until the king can be apprised of their arrival. Apollonius whiles away the time with a conversation upon painting, in the course of which he remarks that colour is not necessary to a picture; that an Indian drawn in chalk would be known as an Indian, and black of colour, by his somewhat flat nose, his crisp hair, his large jaws, and wild eyes<sup>3</sup>. While they are thus talking, a messenger and interpreter arrive from the king, with a permit for them to enter the city, and to stay in it three days, beyond which time no strangers are allowed in Taxila.

They are taken to the palace. They found the city divided by narrow streets, well-arranged, and reminding them of Athens. From the streets, the houses seemed of only one story, but they all had an underground floor<sup>4</sup>. They saw the Temple of the Sun, and in it statues of Alexander and Porus, in gold, silver, and copper; its walls were of red marble, but glittering with gold; the image of the god was of pearls<sup>5</sup>, having, as is usual with the barbarians in sacred things, a symbolical meaning.

with brick. They may, however, have faced their buildings with stone; and the λιθος κογχυλιατος may have been of that porphyry, or red marble, used in the tombs at Tattah.—Life of Sir C. Napier. iv. 38.

<sup>1</sup> Lassen (513-4) states, on Singhalese authority, that the Hindus were skilled in mosaics; and (II. 426-7) he describes a casket the figures on which he supposes were of a mosaic of precious stones.

<sup>2</sup> Το ευσχιον, το εμπνουν, και το εισεχον τε, και εξεχον.

<sup>3</sup> Arrian, Indica vi., and compare with it Vishnu Purana, note 4, p. 100, where is a description of the barbarous races of India.

<sup>4</sup> Lassen, *ut sup.* 514. The underground floor, Elphinstone says, even the poor have at Peshawur.—Caulbul, Introdue., p. 74.

<sup>5</sup> “On représente le soleil la face rouge . . . ses membres sont prononcés, il

The palace was distinguished by no extraordinary magnificence, and was just like the house of any citizen of the better class. There were no sentinels or body guards, and but few servants about, and perhaps three or four persons who were waiting to talk with the king. The same simplicity was observable in the courts, halls, waiting and inner rooms; and it pleased Apollonius more than all the pomp of Babylon. When admitted to the king's presence, Apollonius, through the interpreter, addressed the king as a philosopher, and complimented him on his moderation. The king, Phraotes, in answer, said that he was moderate because his wants were few, and that as he was wealthy, he employed his wealth in doing good to his friends, and in subsidizing the barbarians, his neighbours, to prevent them from themselves ravaging, or allowing other barbarians to ravage his territories. Here one of his courtiers offered to crown him with a jewelled mitre, but he refused it, as well because all pomp was hateful to him, as because of Apollonius's presence. Apollonius now enquired into his mode of life. The king told him that he drank but little wine, as much as he usually poured out in libation to the sun; that he hunted for exercise<sup>1</sup>, and gave away what he killed; that, for himself, he lived on vegetables and herbs, and the head and fruit of the palm, and other fruits which he cultivated with his own hands.<sup>2</sup> With this account of his kingly tastes and occupations Apollonius was delighted, and he frequently looked at Damis. They then talked together a long time about the road to the Brahmins; and when they had done, the king ordered the Babylonian guide to be treated with the hospitality wont to be shown to travellers from Babylon, and the satrap guide to be sent back home with the usual travelling allowance; and then taking Apollonius by the hand, and ordering the interpreter to leave them, he asked him, in Greek, to receive him, the king, as a table companion. Apollonius, surprised, enquired why he had not spoken Greek from the first. "Because," answered the king, "I would not seem bold, or to forget that I am, after all, only a barbarian; but your kindness, and the pleasure you take in my conversation, have got the better of me, and I can no longer conceal myself from you. And how I became thus acquainted with Greek I will presently show you at large." "But why," again asked Apollonius, "instead of inviting me, did you beg me to invite you to dinner?" "Because,"

porte des pendants à ses oreilles. Un collier de perles lui descend du cou sur la poitrine."—Reinaud, *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 121.

<sup>1</sup> "Drinking, dice, women and hunting, let the king consider as the four most pernicious vices."—Menu, vii. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Arrian, *Indica*, xi. c., §§.

said the king, "I look on you as the better man; for wisdom is above royalty (*το γαρ βασιλικώτερον σοφία έχει*<sup>1</sup>). So saying, he led him to the place where he was accustomed to bathe.<sup>2</sup> This was a garden, about a stadium long, with a swimming bath of cold running water in the middle of it, and on each side an exercising ground. Here he practised the discus and the javelin, Greek fashion<sup>3</sup>, and then, when tired, jumped into the water, and exercised himself with swimming. After the bath they went to dinner, crowned with garlands<sup>4</sup>, as is usual with the Indians when they feast in the king's palace.

Of the dinner Damis has given a detailed account. The king, and about five of his family with him, lay on a low couch; the other guests sat on stools. The table was like an altar, about as high as a man's knee; it was in the middle of the room, round, and as large as would be a circle formed by thirty people with joined hands standing up to dance. It was strewed over with laurel, and a sort of myrtle from which the Indians prepare their unguents, and was set out with fish and birds, the carcases of lions and goats and sows, and with tiger loins<sup>5</sup>—the only part of the tiger they eat, and this because they suppose that at its birth it raises its fore-paws to the rising sun. Each guest, as he wanted anything, got up and went to the table; and taking a bit of this, cutting off a slice of that, he returned to his seat and ate his fill, always eating bread with his meat. When they had had enough, gold and silver bowls, each one large enough for ten guests, were brought in, and from these they drank, stooping down like cattle. In the meanwhile, they were amused by various feats which required considerable skill and courage: a javelin was thrown up, and at the same time a boy leaped upward, and tumbled head over heels while in the air, but in such a way that he passed over the javelin as it fell, and with the certainty of being wounded if he did

<sup>1</sup> The old Stoic maxim: "Solus sapiens rex." Olearius in Philost.

<sup>2</sup> Hiouen T'sang, I. 70, 71, describes the nice cleanliness of the Indians, but confines the washing before meat to the hands.

<sup>3</sup> Menu of the kingly duties: "Having consulted with his ministers . . . having used exercise becoming a warrior, and having bathed, let the king enter at noon his private apartments for the purpose of taking food" (vii. 216). But Strabo (xv. I. 51) says, the Indians use friction rather than gymnastic exercises.

<sup>4</sup> "Le roi et ses ministres ornent leurs têtes de guirlandes de fleurs."—Hiouen T'sang, p. 70, I. v.

<sup>5</sup> Strabo, quoting Nearchus, better describes the Indians, at least he describes them as we at this day find them: *μηδὲ γὰρ νοσῶντες εἶναι πολλὰς διὰ τὴν λιτοτητα τῆς διατροφῆς καὶ τὴν ἀσυνίαν* (xv. 1, 45), their food principally *ορυζαν ροφήτην*, rice curry or porridge?—§53.

not properly time his somersault; indeed the weapon was carried round, and the guests tested its sharpness. One man also was so sure of his aim, that he set up his own son against a board, and then threw darts at the board, so aiming them that, fixed in the board, they traced out his son's outline<sup>1</sup>.

Damis and the others were much amused with these entertainments; but Apollonius, who was at the king's table, paid little attention to them; and, turning to the King, asked him, how he came to know Greek, and where he acquired his philosophy. The king, smiling, answered, "In old times when a ship put into port, the people used to ask its crew if they were pirates<sup>2</sup>, piracy was then so common. But now, though philosophy is God's most precious gift to man, the first question you Greeks put to a stranger, even of the lowest rabble, is 'Are you a philosopher?' And in very truth with you Greeks, I speak not of you, Apollonius, philosophy is much the same as piracy, for to the many who profess it, it is like an ill-fitting garment which they have stolen, and in which they strut about awkwardly, trailing it on the ground. And like thieves, on whom the fear of justice presses, they hurry to enjoy the present hour, and give themselves up to gluttony, debauchery, and effeminacy; and no wonder, for while your laws punish coiners of bad money, they take no cognizance of the authors and utterers of a false philosophy. Here, on the other hand, philosophy is a high honour, and before we allow any one to study it, we first send him to the home of the Brahmans, who inquire into his character and parentage. He must shew that his progenitors, for three generations, have been without stain or reproach, and that he himself is of pure morals and of a retentive intellect. The character of his progenitors," the king went on to say, "if of living men, was ascertained from witnesses; and if of dead, was known from the public records<sup>3</sup>. For when an Indian died, a legally appointed officer repaired to his house, and inquired into, and set down in writing his mode of life, and truly, under the penalty of being declared incapable of holding any public office. As to the youth himself, they judged him worthy or otherwise from his eyes, eye-brows, and cheeks, which as in a mirror reflect the mind and disposition.

<sup>1</sup> A Chinese juggler lately performed the same feat in London.

<sup>2</sup> Allusion to Thucydides, I.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo of the Indian city *ediles* says a part took note of the births and deaths, that the birth or death of good or bad men may be known: *μη αφανεις ειεν αι κραιττοις και χειροις γιναι και θανατοι* (xv. 1, 51); from Megasthenes, *Frag. Hist.*, II. p. 431, § 37, and consult Bardesanes' account of the *Σαυαται* in l. iv. c. 17 of Porphyry de Abstinentiâ.

The king then told how his father, the son of a king, had been left very young an orphan; and how during his minority two of his relatives according to Indian custom acted as regents, but with so little regard to law, that some nobles conspired against them, and slew them as they were sacrificing to the Indus, and seized upon the government;—how on this his father, then sixteen years of age, fled to the king beyond the Hydaspes, a greater king than himself, who received him kindly, and offered either to adopt him, or to replace him on his throne; and how, declining this offer, he requested to be sent to the Brahmans; and how the Brahmans educated him; and how in time he married the daughter of the Hydaspian king, and received with her seven villages as pin-money (*eis zōnēn*), and had issue one son,—himself, Phraotes. Phraotes told of himself, that he was educated by his father in the Greek fashion till the age of twelve; that he was then sent to the Brahmans, and treated by them as a son, for he observed, “They especially love those who know and speak Greek, as akin to them in mind and disposition;” that his parents died; and that in his nineteenth year, just as, by the advice of the Brahmans, he was beginning to take into his own hands the management of his estates, he was deprived of them by the king, his uncle; and was supported with four servants by willing contributions from his mother’s freedmen (*ἀπελευθέρων*). And now, as he was one day reading the *Heraclidae*, he hears from a friend of his father’s, that if he will return, he may recover the kingdom of his family, but he must be quick. The tragedy he was reading he accepts as an omen, and goes on to say:—“When I crossed the Hydraotis, I heard that, of the usurpers, one was already dead, and the other besieged in this very palace; so I hurried on, proclaiming to the villages I passed through who I was, and what were my rights: and the people received me gladly; and declaring I was the very picture of my father and grandfather, they accompanied me, many of them armed with swords and bows, and our numbers increased daily; and when we reached this city, the inhabitants, with torches lit at the altar of the Sun, and singing the praises of my father and grandfather, came out and welcomed me, and brought me hither. But they built up the drone within, though I begged them not to put him to so cruel a death.”

Apollonius then enquired whether the Sophoi of Alexander and these Brahmans were the same people. The king told him they were not; that Alexander’s Sophoi were the Oxydracæ<sup>1</sup>, a free and warlike

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, xv. I. 33, connects them with the Malli. Burnes identifies them with the people of Ooch, the Malli with those of Mooltan.—*Ut sup.* I., p. 99.

race, but rather dabblers in philosophy than philosophers<sup>1</sup>; that the Brahman country lay between the Hyphasis and the Ganges; and that Alexander never invaded it—not through fear, but dissuaded by the appearance of the sacrificial victims. “And though,” said Phraotes, “it is true he might have crossed the Hyphasis and occupied the neighbouring lands, yet the stronghold of the Brahman he never could have taken—no, not though every man in his army had been an Ajax or an Achilles. For these sacred and God-loved men would have driven him back—not with human weapons, but with thunders and lightnings, and tempests, as they had routed the Egyptian Hercules and Bacchus, who thought with united arms to have stormed their fort; and so routed them, that Hercules it is said threw away his golden shield, which, because of its owner’s renown and its own embossments<sup>2</sup>, they then set up as an offering in their temple.”

While they were thus conversing, music and a song were introduced, on which Apollonius enquired what the festal procession meant. The king explained to him that it was usual with the Indians to sing to the king, before he retired to rest, songs of good counsel, wishing him good dreams, and that he may rise in the morning a good man and a wise counsellor for his people<sup>3</sup>. And so talking, they went to bed. The next morning, Apollonius discourses upon sleep and dreams, and the king displays his knowledge of Greek legends. They then separate—the king to transact the business of his kingdom and to decide some law-suits—Apollonius to offer his prayers to the Sun. When they again meet, the king tells Apollonius that the state of the victims had not permitted the Court to sit on that day, and he lays before him a case in dispute—one of treasure-trove, and in land which has just changed hands, the buyer and seller both claiming the treasure. The king is in much perplexity, and states the reasons on both sides; and the suit might have been drawn out to the same length, and become as celebrated as that of the ass and shadow at Abdera, had not Apollonius come to his assistance. He inquires into the life and character of the litigants; finds that the seller is a bad, and the purchaser a good man; and to the last therefore awards the treasure.

When the three days of their sojourn have expired, and the king

<sup>1</sup> Σοφίαν δὲ μεταχειρισσάσθαι, οὐδὲν χρηστὸν εἶδοντες.—Philost. II. c. 33.

<sup>2</sup> These embossments represented, the king goes on to say, Hercules setting up his pillars at Gades, and driving back the ocean—proof, he asserts, that it was the Egyptian, and not the Theban, Hercules who was at Gades.

<sup>3</sup> Menu, among the vices the king is to shun, names dancing and instrumental music (vii. 47), but afterwards advises that, “in the inmost recesses of his mansion, having been recreated by musical strains, he should take rest early.”—vii. 224-5; see, however, As. Res., ix. p. 76.

learns that their camels from Babylon are worn out, he orders that of his white camels<sup>1</sup> on the Indus, four shall be sent to Bardanes, and four others given to Apollonius with provisions, and a guide to the Brahmans. He offers him besides gold and jewels and linen garments; but Apollonius accepts only the linen garments, and this, because they are like the old genuine Attic cloak, and one jewel, because of its mystic and divine properties. He receives also a letter for Iarchas<sup>2</sup>, to this effect:—"The King Phraotes to the Master Iarchas and the wise men with him, greeting:—Apollonius, a very wise man, thinks you wiser than himself, and has travelled hither to learn your doctrine. Send him back knowing all you know. Your lessons will not be lost, for he speaks better, and has a better memory than any man I ever knew. Shew him, Father Iarchas, the throne on which I sat when you gave me the kingdom. His followers are worthy of all praise, if only for submitting to such a man. Farewell."

They leave Taxila, and after two days' journey, reach the place where Alexander is said to have fought with Porus; and they saw there a triumphal arch, the pediment to a statue of Alexander in a four-horse chariot, like that on the Issus. A little farther on, they came upon two other arches, on one of which was Alexander, on the other Porus; the one saluting, the other in an attitude of submission.

Having passed the Hydraotis<sup>3</sup>, they pursued their way, through different nations<sup>4</sup>, to the Hyphasis. Thirty stadia from the river, they saw the altars Alexander had built there "To Father Ammon and Brother Hercules; to the Providence Minerva and Olympian Jovo; and the Samo-Thracian Cabiri and the Indian Sun, and Brother Apollo;" and a bronze pillar with this inscription:—"Here Alexander halted." And this pillar Philostratus conjectures was raised by the Indians in joy at the return homeward of Alexander.

In reference to the Hyphasis and its marvels, we are told that vessels may sail up to its very source, in a plain; but that, lower down, alternate ridges of rock impede its course, and cause eddies which render its navigation impossible. It is about as broad as the Ister, the largest of our European rivers. From the trees on its banks the people obtain an unguent with which marriage-guests besprinkle the bride and bridegroom, and without which no marriage is considered complete, or pleasing to Venus. To Venus, indeed, its groves

<sup>1</sup> Elphinstone (*ut supra*, I. 40) speaks of white camels as rare.

<sup>2</sup> Probably, suggests Wilford, a corruption from Rac'hyas.—*As. Res.*, ix. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Hydraotis, in Strabo Hyarotis, Sanskrit Iravati; Hyphasis, Vipasa.—*Vishnu Purana*, p. 181.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo gives their number as nine.—xv. I. 3, 33.

are dedicated, as also its fish, confined to one sort, the peacock, so called from their cerulean crest, their spotted scales, and golden tails, which they can open out at pleasure. In this river is also found a sort of white worm, the property of the king, which is melted into an oil so inflammable, that nothing but glass will hold it. This oil is used in sieges, and when thrown on the battlements, it burns so fiercely, that its fire, so far as yet known, is inextinguishable<sup>1</sup>.

In the marshes, wild asses are caught, with a horn on their foreheads<sup>2</sup>, with which they fight, bull-fashion<sup>3</sup>. From this horn is made a cup, of such virtue that if any one drinks out of it, he need for that day fear no sickness, nor wounds, nor fire, nor poison. It is the king's, who also reserves to himself the right of hunting the ass. Apollonius saw the animal, and admired it; but when Damis asked him if he could believe all that was said of the virtue of the cup, he answered, "Yes, when I see any Indian king immortal."

Here they met with a woman black to her breasts, white from her breasts downwards. She was sacred to the Indian Venus, and to this goddess piebald women are sacred from their birth, as Apis among the Egyptians. Thence they crossed that part of Caucasus which stretches down towards the Red Sea; it was full of all sorts of aromatic plants. The headlands produced cinnamon<sup>3</sup>, a shrub very like a young vine (*νέαις κλήμασι*), and so grateful to goats, that if you hold it in your hands, they will follow you, and whine after you like dogs. On the cliffs grow the tall and all other sorts of frankincense, and pepper-trees. The pepper-tree resembles the *ἄγνος* both in its leaves and the clustered form of its fruit. It grows on precipices inaccessible to man, but frequented by apes, which, as they gather for them the pepper-fruit, the Indians make much of, and protect with arms and dogs against the lion; for the lion will lie in wait for the ape, and eat its flesh as medicine when he is sick, and as food when he is old and no longer able to hunt the stag and wild boar. The pepper harvest is gathered in this way:—Directly under the cliffs where the peppers grow, the people dig small trenches, into which they throw as some-

<sup>1</sup> This worm is mentioned and described by Ctesias, but he places it in the Indus.—Frag. Ctes. Ed. Didot, 27, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> This ass and its horn, with some slight difference, are also in Ctesias (ib., p. 25). Wilson sees in this horned ass two animals "rolled into one," the gorkhar, or wild horse, found north of the Hindu-Koh, and the rhinoceros, whose horn has to this day, in the East, a high reputation as an antidote.—Notes on Ctesias, 63 and 49.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, xv. I. 22, but in the south of India. I believe it is indigenous to Ceylon, and is not found in India at all.



thing worthless the fruit of the neighbouring trees<sup>1</sup>. The monkeys from the heights watch them, and as soon as it is night, begin like them, to tear the clustered fruits from the pepper, and like them to fling it into the trenches. In the morning the people come back and carry off the pepper, which they thus obtain without any labour.

On the other side of the mountain was a large plain—the largest in India, being fifteen days' journey to the Ganges, and eighteen days' to the Red Sea. It was intersected with dykes running in different directions, and communicating with the Ganges, and serving the double purpose of landmarks and canals for irrigation. The land here is the best in India, black and very productive; its wheat-stalks are like reeds<sup>2</sup>, and its beans three times as large as the Egyptian; its sesame and millet are also extraordinarily fine. Here, too, grow those nuts, which for their rarity and size are, as a sort of wonder often found as offerings in Greek temples. The grapes of the country, however, are small, like the Lydian and Maonian, and with an agreeable bouquet so soon as gathered (*τας δε ἀμπέλους . . . . . ποτιμούς τε και ανθοσμίας ομου τω αποτρυναν.*) A tree is also found here like the laurel but with a fruit like a large pomegranate, within the husk of which is an apple of the colour of a fine hyacinth, and the very best flavoured fruit they ever ate<sup>3</sup>.

As they came down the mountain, they witnessed a dragon-hunt. India, its marshes, plains, and mountains are full of dragons<sup>4</sup>. Of these they tell us that the marsh-dragon is thirty cubits long, sluggish, and without a crest; the male very like the female (*αλλ' ειναι τας δρακαινας ομοιου*). Its back is black, and it has fewer scales than

<sup>1</sup> Strabo (ib., § 20) describes a similar trick, by means of which the people catch the monkeys. With regard to that described in the text, Waterton has observed, that the monkey never throws, only lets fall.

<sup>2</sup> Elphinstone, describing this bank of the Hyphasis, tells only of sand-hills, and hard clay, and tufts of grass, and little bushes of rue. Of the right bank, however, he says: "There were so many large and deep watercourses throughout the journey, that, judging from them alone, the country must be highly cultivated."—*Introd.* Burnes, too, observes of Balkh: "The crops are good, and the wheat stalks grow as high as in England, and do not present the stunted stubble of India."—*Ut sup.*, II., 206.

<sup>3</sup> Can this be the purple mangosteen, such as it might be described by those who only knew of it from hearsay?

<sup>4</sup> Almost all that is here said of serpents will be found in Pliny (viii., 11, 13); their size, though scarcely so large as those of Philostratus, is noticed by Onesicritus and Nearchus (*Frsg. Hist. Alex.*, p. 60 and 105, Didot.); their beards by Ælian (xi., c. 26); the beard and the stone in their heads, with some difference (the stones are *αυτογλωφοι*), by Tzetzes from Poscidippus.—*Chil.*, vii., 653, 669; the magic power of their eyes by Lucan (vii. 457).

the other kinds. Homer, when he speaks of the dragon at the fount in Aulis as of blood-red back, describes the marsh-dragon better than the other poets, who make the Nemean dragon crested; for crested you will hardly find any marsh-dragon.

The plain and hill-dragons are superior to, and larger than, the marsh kind. They move along more swiftly than the swiftest rivers, and nothing can escape them. They are crested; and though in the young the crest is small (*μέτριον*), when they are full-grown, it reaches to a conspicuous height. They are of a fiery colour, with serrated backs, and bearded; their necks are erect, and their scales shine like silver. The pupils of their eyes are a fiery stone of wonderful and mystic properties. They are hunted for the sake of their eyes, skin, and teeth. A dragon of this kind will sometimes attack an elephant; both then perish, and are a "find" for the huntsmen. They resemble the largest fish, but are more litho and active; their teeth are hard as those of the whale.

The mountain dragons are larger than those of the plain, and with a fiercer look; their scales are golden, their beard too, which hangs in clusters; they glide on the earth with a sound as of brass; their fiery crests throw out a light brighter than that of a torch. They overpower the elephant, but become themselves the prey of the Indian. They are killed in this fashion:—the Indians spread out before the serpent's hiding-place a scarlet carpet, with golden characters which, when the dragon rests his head upon them, charm him to sleep. They then, with incantations<sup>1</sup>, call him out of his hole; and, if everything goes well—for often he gets the better of them and their "grainary"—as soon as, with outstretched neck, he is lulled in magic sleep, they rush on him with hatchets and cut off his head, and extract from it bright-coloured stones, flashing with every hue, and of powers wonderful as those of Gyges' ring. These dragons are also found in the mountains bordering the Red Sea. They are said to live an incredible age, but of this nothing certain is known.

At the foot of the mountain was situated Paraka, a very large city. Its inhabitants are, from their youth, trained to hunt the dragon, and it is full of their trophies—the heads of dragons. They eat the hearts and livers, as by this means, as was proved by Apollonius himself<sup>2</sup>, they acquire a knowledge of the language and thoughts of animals.

<sup>1</sup> The snake charmer still exists in India. Bochart (Hierozo., cvi. III., II. v.) gives all the passages in ancient authors bearing on the subject.

<sup>2</sup> At Ephesus (L. iv., c. 3), where he displayed his knowledge of the language of sparrows.

Proceeding onwards, our travellers hear the sound of a shepherd's pipe<sup>1</sup>, and presently see a herd of white stags grazing. The Indians keep them for their milk<sup>2</sup>, which is considered very nourishing.

Thence, after a four days' journey through a fertile and well-cultivated country, they approached the stronghold of the Sophoi; and now their guide ordered his camel to kneel, and leapt down, sweating with fear. Then Apollonius knew where they were, and laughed at the Indian, and bade him again mount his camel. The fact is, the near neighbourhood of the Sophoi frightened him; and, indeed, the people fear them more than the king; for the king consults them as he would an oracle, and does nothing without their advice and concurrence<sup>3</sup>.

When they had reached a village, not the eighth of a mile from the hill of the Sophoi, and were preparing to put up there, they perceived a young man running towards them. He was the very blackest Indian they had yet seen, with a bright spot, crescent-shaped, between his brows, much such a mark as Menon, the Ethiopian foster-child of the sophist Herod, had in his youth. He bore a golden anchor which, as symbolical of holding fast, the Indians have made their caduceus.

When the messenger coming up addressed Apollonius in Greek, as the villagers also spoke Greek, they were not much surprised; but when he addressed Apollonius by name, they were struck with astonishment, all but Apollonius, who, now full of confidence, looking at Damiis, said, "The men we have come to visit are wise indeed; they know the future:" and then turning to the Indian, he asked him what he should do, for he wished to converse with the Sophoi immediately. The man answered, "Leave your people here, but come you, just as you are, so they (*αὐτοί*) request." This "they" seemed to Apollonius quite Pythagorean, and he followed the messenger rejoicing.

The hill of the Sophoi<sup>4</sup> rose sheer up from the plain, and was about as high as the Acropolis at Athens. It was besides fortified by a goodly belt of rock, on which you might trace the impressions of hoofs, and beards, and faces, and what seemed the backs of falling

<sup>1</sup> Strabo (*ut sup.*, c. 22) says, they have no musical instruments besides cymbals, drums, and *κρόταλοι* (rattles, castanets?).

<sup>2</sup> "The milk of any forest beast, except the buffalo, must be carefully shunned." —Menu, v. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Vide Hist. Frag. II., 438, on a fragment of Megasthenes and Bardesanes on Brahmins and Samanœans in Porphyry, de Abstinēt., L. iv., 17 c., *ad calcem*.

<sup>4</sup> Ctesias tells of a sacred place in an uninhabited part of the country, which the Indians honour in the name of the sun and the moon; it is fifteen days' journey from the Sardian mountains—*του ὄρους της Σαρδούς*, § 8, p. 81.

men. And they heard that when Bacchus and Hercules attempted the place, Bacchus ordered his Pans, as able to shake it to its foundation (*ικανους πρὸς τον σεισμον*), to storm it, but thunderstruck by the Sophoi, they fell headlong one upon the other, and so left these marks upon the stones. They said also, that about and around this hill a cloud hung within which the Sophoi dwell, visible and invisible at will, but that there were no gates to their stronghold, so that one could not call it either enclosed or open.

Apollonius and his guide ascended the hill on the south side. He saw a well four fathoms deep, and over its mouth a dark vapour rising<sup>1</sup> with the heat, and giving out at midday all the colours of the rainbow. He was told that here the subsoil was cinnabar (*σανδαράχη γη*), and that the water of the well was sacred, and never used, and that all the people about swore by it. Near this was a crater, which threw out a lead-coloured flame without smell or smoke, and which bubbled up with a volcanic matter that rose to its brim, but never overflowed: here the Indians purified themselves from all involuntary sins. The well, the Sophoi called the well of the test; the crater, the fire of pardon<sup>2</sup>. Here were also seen two casks of black stone—the casks of the winds and of the rain<sup>3</sup>; and the one is opened or shut as the rain is wanted or otherwise; similarly the other, as wind. Here too they found statues of the most ancient Greek gods, and worshipped in the Greek manner; of the Polian Minerva, and of Bacchus, and of the Delian and Amyclæan Apollo<sup>4</sup>. The Sophoi look upon their stronghold as the very navel of India. They here worship fire obtained from the sun's rays, and daily hymn its praises at midday.

Apollonius, in an address to the Egyptians, somewhat enigmatically describes the life of the Sophoi:—"I have seen," he says, "Brahmans who dwell on the earth, and yet not on the earth; in places fortified,

<sup>1</sup> "In the morning, vapours or clouds of smoke ascended from the wells till the atmosphere was sufficiently heated to hide it," between the Ravi and the Chemab. —Burnes, II., 38.

<sup>2</sup> With the well of the test compare the test fountain in Ctesias; its water hardens into a cheese-like substance, which, rubbed into a powder and mixed with water, administered to suspected criminals makes them tell all they ever did (§ 14, p. 82); also the water of probation mentioned by Porphyry. With the fire of pardon compare that other water, in some cave temple seemingly, which purified from voluntary and involuntary offences (Porphyry de Styge).

<sup>3</sup> Olcarius, h. l., suggests that these may have been barometers; and then Damis, like the astronomer in Rasselas, merely confounds the power of ferretting with the power of producing.

<sup>4</sup> Ὁ θαυμαστής φιλοσοφίας δι' ἣν ἰνδοὶ θεοὺς ἑλληνικοὺς προσκυνουσι.—Plutarch de Fortunâ Alex. Op. Var. I. p. 585.

and yet without walls; and who possess nothing, and yet all things." According to Damis they used the earth as a couch, but first strewed it with choicest grasses: they walked, too, the air<sup>1</sup>—Damis himself saw them, and this not to excite wonder—all ostentation is abhorrent to their nature,—but in imitation of and as a more fitting service to the sun. He saw, too, the fire which they drew down from the sun's rays, —not flaming on an altar, nor kept on a hearth though it is material, but flickering in mid-air<sup>2</sup>; and while in the day time they worship the sun, beseeching him to order the seasons for India's benefit, in the night they worship this fire, lest oppressed by the darkness it should leave them. And in this way is to be understood Apollonius's first assertion: "The Brahmans live on the earth, and yet not on the earth." His second, Damis refers to that covering of clouds which they draw over themselves at pleasure, and which no rain can penetrate. His third, to those fountains which bubble up for his Bacchanals when Bacchus shakes the earth and them, and from which the Indians themselves drink and give to others to drink. Well therefore may Apollonius say, that men, who at a moment's notice and without preparation can get whatever they want, possess nothing and yet all things<sup>3</sup>. They wear their hair long<sup>4</sup>, like the old Macedonians, and on their head a white mitre<sup>5</sup>. They go bare-foot; and their coats have no sleeves, and are of wild cotton, of an oily nature, and white as Pamphylian wool, but softer<sup>6</sup>. Of this cotton

<sup>1</sup> Ἀπο τῆς γῆς ἐς πηχὺς δύο (Philos. III., c. 15), two cubits from the ground, no great height, but ce n'est que le premier pouce qui coute.

<sup>2</sup> Sir C. Napier says, of Trukkee, "On reaching the top, where we remained during the night, every man's bayonet had a bright flame on the point. A like appearance had also been observed going from Ooch to Shapoor."—Life, III., 272. May not the night light of the Sophoi be referred to some similar phenomenon?

<sup>3</sup> Compare with these fountains those of milk, wine, &c., of which Calanus speaks in his interview with Onesicritus (Strabo, *ut sup.*, § 64); and that happy India, a real pays de Cocagne, which Dio Chrysostom ironically describes in Celenis Phrygiæ Orat., xxxv., II., p. 70.

<sup>4</sup> Hardy, Eastern Monachism (p. 112), by which it would seem that the Brahmans wear long hair; the Buddhist priest, on the other hand, shaves his head; so also Bardesanes describes the newly-elected Samaritan: *ξυραμινός ἐστι τοῦ σωματος τὰ περιττὰ λαμβάνει στολὴν ἀπεισι τε πρὸς Σαμαριταίους*.—Porphry, *ut supra*.

<sup>5</sup> Still worn by some of the mountain tribes about Cabool. Elphinstone says of the Bikaners, "they wear loose clothes of white cotton, and a remarkable turban which rises high over the head."—Cabool, I., 18.

<sup>6</sup> Hierocles speaks of the Brahman garments as made from a soft and hairy (δερματωδῆ) filaments obtained from stones (asbestos).—Frag. Hist., iv. p. 430. Burnes says of the Nawab of Cabool, "he produced some asbestos, here called cotton-stone, found near Jelalabad" (ii. 130).

the sacred vestments are made; and the earth refuses to give it up if any but themselves attempt to gather it. They carry a stick<sup>1</sup>, and wear a ring, both of infinite and magic power.

Apollonius found the Sophoi seated on brazen stools; their chief, Iarchas, on a raised throne of bronze, ornamented with golden images. They saluted him with their hands, but Iarchas welcomed him in Greek, asked him for the King's letter, and added, that it wanted a δ. As soon as he had read it, he asked Apollonius, "What do you think of us?" "Oh!" said Apollonius, "the very journey I have undertaken—and I am the first of my countrymen who has undertaken it—answers that question." "In what, then," enquired Iarchas, "do you think us wiser than you?" "I think your views wiser, more divine," answered Apollonius; "and should I find that you know no more than I, this at least I shall have learned—that I have nothing more to learn." "Well," said the Indian, "other people usually ask of those who visit them, whence they come and who they are; but we, as a first proof of our knowledge, show strangers that we know them;" and so saying, he told Apollonius who his father was, who his mother, all that happened to him at *Nega*, and how *Damis* joined him, and all they had said and done in the journey; and this so distinctly and fluently, that he might have been a companion of their route. Apollonius, greatly astonished, asked him how he knew all this. "In this knowledge," he answered, "you are not wholly wanting, and where you are deficient we will instruct you<sup>2</sup>, for we think it not well to keep secret what is so worthy of being known, especially from you, Apol-

<sup>1</sup> "The three first classes ought to carry staves,"—*Menu*, i. 45. "The priest's should reach to his hair."—*Ib.*, 46.

<sup>2</sup> When *Damis* speaks of his knowledge of languages to Apollonius, Apollonius merely observes that he himself understands all languages, and that without having learned them; and more—that he knows not only what men speak, but their secret thoughts (*L. I.*, exix.) But as in India he is accompanied by, and frequently makes use of an interpreter; this pretension of his has, from the time of Eusebius (in *Hieroclem*, xiv.), been frequently ridiculed as an idle boast. Philostratus however was too practised a writer to have left his hero open to such a charge. His faults are of another kind. His facts and statements too often, and with a certain air of design, confirm and illustrate each other: thus, with regard to this very power claimed by Apollonius, observe that he professes not to speak, but to know all languages and men's thoughts—a difference intelligible to all who are familiar with the alleged facts of mesmerism; and look at him in his first interview with *Phraotes*; watch him listening to, and understanding the talk of the king and the sages, and only then asking Iarchas to interpret for him when he would himself speak. Observe also that Iarchas admits only to a certain extent the power of Apollonius, and remember his surprise when he finds that *Phraotes* knows and speaks Greek.

lonius,—a man of most excellent memory. And memory, you must know, is of the Gods the one we most honour. “But how do you know my nature?” asked Apollonius. “We” he answered, “see into the very soul, tracing out its qualities by a thousand signs. But as midday approaches<sup>1</sup>, let us to our devotions, in which you also may, if you will, take part.” They then adjourned to the bath, a spring like that of Diren, in Bœotia, as Damis, who afterwards saw it, says. They first took off their clothes, and anointed their heads with an unguent, which made their bodies run down with sweat, and then jumped into the water, and having washed, they put garlands on their heads and proceeded to the temple, intent on their hymn. And standing round in a circle, with Iarchas as their leader, they beat the ground with their staves, till bellying like a wave it sent them up into the air about two cubits. There they sung a hymn, very like the Pæan of Sophocles sung at Athens to Æsculapius. When they had again come down to the earth and had performed their sacred duties, Iarchas called the youth with the anchor, and bade him take care of Apollonius’s companions; and he, in a shorter space of time than the swiftest birds, was gone and was back again, and told Iarchas,—“I have taken care of them.”

Apollonius was now seated on the throne of Phraotes, and Iarchas bade him question them on any matter he pleased, for he was now among men who knew all things. Apollonius therefore asked, as though it was of all knowledge the most difficult, “Whether the Sophoi knew themselves?” But Iarchas answered quite contrary to his expectation, that they knew all things, because they first knew themselves. That, without this first and elementary knowledge, no one could be admitted to their philosophy. Apollonius, remembering his conversation with Phraotes and the examination they had been obliged to undergo, assented to this, more especially as he felt the truth of the observation in himself. He then asked “What opinion they held of themselves?” and was told, “that they held themselves to be gods, because they were good men.” Apollonius then enquired about the soul, and, when he heard that they held the opinions of Pythagoras, he further asked, whether, as Pythagoras remembered himself as

<sup>1</sup> “At sunrise, at noon, and at sunset, let the Brahman go to the waters and bathe.”—Menu, vi. 22. “Sunrise and sunset are the hours when, having made his ablution, he repeats the text which he ought to repeat.”—II., 222. From the Vishnu Purana, however, it seems the Richas shine in the morning, the prayers of the Yajush at noon, and portions of the Saman in the afternoon.—p. 235. *Bardeanes, ut supra, τον τωτων χρονον της ημερας δι της νυκτος τον πλειστον εις υμνονς των θεων απειριμαν δι ευχας.*

Euphorbus, so Iarchas could speak of some one of his previous lives, either as Greek or Trojan, or any other man? Iarchas, first reproving the Greeks for their reverence for Trojan heroes and for Achilles as the greatest of them, to the neglect of better men, Greek, Egyptian, and Indian, related how years long ago he had been one Ganges, king of the Indian people, of whom the Ethiopians, then Indians, formed a part; how this Ganges, ten cubits in stature and the most comely of men, built many cities, and drove back the Scythians who invaded his territories; and how, though robbed of his wife by the then king of Phraotes's country, he had unlike Achilles kept sacred his alliance with him; how too he had rendered his father, the Ganges<sup>1</sup> river, propitious to India, by inducing it to keep within its banks, and to divert its course to the Red Sea<sup>2</sup>; how, notwithstanding all this, the Ethiopians murdered him, and were driven by the hate of the Indians, and the now sterile earth, and the abortive births of their wives, to leave their native land; and how, pursued by his ghost, and still suffering the same ills, they wandered from place to place, till having at length punished his murderers they settled in that part of Africa from them called Ethiopia. He told, too, how Ganges had thrust seven adamantino swords deep into the ground in some unknown spot, which when the oracles declared it sacred, he then a child of four years old immediately pointed out. But ceasing to speak of himself, he directed Apollonius's attention to a youth in the company of about twenty, whom he described as patient under all suffering, and by nature especially fitted for philosophy, but beyond measure averse to it; and whose aversion was the consequence of the ill-treatment and injustice he had received from Ulysses and Homer in a former life. He had been Palamedes.

While they were thus talking, a messenger came from the king to announce his approach, and that he would be with them towards evening, to consult on his private affairs. Iarchas answered that he should be welcome, and that he would leave them a better man for having known this Greek. He then resumed his conversation with Apollonius, and asked him to tell something of his previous existence. Apollonius excuses himself, because as it was undistinguished he didn't care to remember it. "But surely," observed Iarchas, "to be the pilot of an Egyptian ship is no such ignoble occupation, and such I see you once were." "True," replied Apollonius, "but a position

<sup>1</sup> The Ganges is a goddess.—Vishnu Purana.

<sup>2</sup> Wilford refers this to the legend of Bhagiratha, "who led the Ganges to the ocean, tracing with the wheels of his chariot two furrows, which were to be the limits of her encroachments."—As. Res., viii. 290.



which should stand on a par with that of the statesman or the general has by the fault of sailors themselves, become contemptible and degraded. Besides the best of my acts in that life no one then thought worthy even of praise." "But what great deed did you then perform?" asked Iarchas. "I don't speak of doubling with slackened sail Malæa and Sunium, or of carefully observing the course of the winds, or of carrying your ship over the reefs and swell of the Eubœan coast." "Well," said Apollonius; "if you will compel me to speak of my sailor life, listen to an act of mine in it which seems to me a right one. In those days pirates infested the Phœnician Sea. And some of their spies, seeing that my ship was richly freighted, came to me and sounded me, and asked me what would be my share of the freight. I told them a thousand drachmas, for we were four pilots. 'And what sort of a home have you?' they asked. 'A hut on Pharos, where Proteus used to live,' I answered. 'Well,' they went on, 'would you like to change the sea for land—a hut for a house, and, while you receive ten times the profit you expect, to rid yourself at the same time of the thousand ills of the tempestuous sea?' 'Aye, that I would,' I said. So they told me who they were, and promised me ten thousand drachmas, and that neither myself nor any of my crew should suffer injury, if I gave them an opportunity of taking my ship. It was then agreed that I should set sail in the night, but lie-to under the promontory; and that the pirates, who were at anchor on the other side, should then come out and seize my ship and cargo. As all this took place in a temple, I made them swear to fulfil their promises; and I agreed, on my part, to do as they wished. But instead of lying-to, I made sail for the open sea, and so escaped." "And this," observed Iarchas, "you think an act of justice?" "Yes," said Apollonius; "and of humanity; for to save the lives of my men, and the property of my employers, and to be above a bribe, though a sailor, I hold to be a proof of many virtues."

Iarchas smiled, and remarked: "You, Greeks, seem to think that not to do wrong is to be just. Only the other day, an Egyptian told us of the Roman proconsuls; how, without knowing the people, they entered their provinces with naked axes; and of the people, how they praised their governors if they only were not venal, just like slave-dealers who, to vaunt their wares, warrant that their Carians are not thieves! Your poets, too, scarcely allow you to be just and good. For Minos, the most cruel of men, and who with his fleets reduced his neighbours to slavery, they honour with the sceptre of justice, and as the judge of the dead. But Tantalus, a good man, who made his friends partakers of immortality, they deprive of food and drink."

And he pointed to a statue on the left inscribed "Tantalus." It was four cubits high, and of a man of about fifty, dressed in the Argolic fashion, with a Thessalian chlamys. He was drinking from a cup as large as would suffice for a thirsty man, and a pure draught bubbled up in it without overflowing.

Their conversation was here interrupted by the noise and tumult in the village occasioned by the king's arrival; and Iarchas angrily observed, "Had it been Phraotes, not the mysteries had been more quiet." Apollonius, seeing no preparations, inquired whether they intended offering the king a banquet? "Aye, and a rich one, for we have plenty of everything here," they said, "and he is a gross feeder. But we allow no animal food, only sweetmeats, roots, and fruits, such as India and the season afford. But here he comes." The king, glittering with gold and jewels, now approached. At this interview Damis was not present, for he spent the whole of this day in the village, but Apollonius gave him an account of it, and he wrote it in his diary. He says then that the king approached with outstretched hands as a suppliant, and that the sages from their seats nodded, as if granting his petition, at which he rejoiced greatly, as at the oracle of a god; but of his son and brother they took no more notice than of the slaves who accompanied him. Iarchas then rose and asked him if he would eat. The king assented, and four tripods, like those in Homer's Olympus, rolled themselves in, followed by bronzo cup-bearers. The earth strewed itself with grass, softer than any couch; and sweets and bread, fruits and vegetables, all excellently well prepared, moved up and down in order before the guests. Of the tripods, two flowed with wine, two with water, hot and cold. The cups, each large enough for four thirsty souls, and the wine-coolers, were each of a single stone, and of a stone in Greece so precious, as to be set in rings and necklaces. The bronzo cup-bearers poured out the wine and water in due proportions, as usual in drinking-bouts. They all lay down to the feast, the king with the rest, for no place of honour was assigned him.

In the course of the dinner Iarchas said to the king, "I pledge you the health of this man," pointing to Apollonius, and with his hand signifying that he was a just and divine man. On this the king observed, "I understand that he, and some others who have put up in the village, are friends of Phraotes." "You understand rightly," said Iarchas, "for even here he is Phraotes' guest." "But what are his pursuits?" asked the king. "Those of Phraotes," answered Iarchas. "Worthless guest worthless pursuits, they prevent even Phraotes from becoming a man indeed," said the king. "Speak more modestly

of philosophy and Phraotes," observed Iarchas,—“this language does not become your age.” Here Apollonius, through Iarchas, inquired of the king “what advantage he derived from not being a philosopher?” “That I possess all virtue, and am one with the sun,” answered the king. Apollonius: “You would not think thus if you were a philosopher.” The king: “Well, friend, as you are a philosopher, tell us what you think of yourself.” Apollonius: “That I am a good man, so long as I am a philosopher.” The king: “By the sun, you come here full of Phraotes.” Apollonius: “Thank heaven, then, that I have not travelled in vain; and if you could see Phraotes, you would say he was full of me; and indeed he wished to write to you about me, but when he told me that you were a good man, I bade him not take that trouble, for I had brought no letter to him.” When the king heard that Phraotes had spoken well of him, he was pacified, and forgot his suspicions; and in a gentle tone said: “Welcome, best friend.” “Welcome you,” said Apollonius, “you are like one just arrived.” “What brought you to this place?” asked the king. “The Gods and those wise men,” answered Apollonius. “But, stranger, what do the Greeks say of me?” inquired the king. “Just what you say of them,” said Apollonius. “But that is just nothing,” the king replied. “I will tell them so, and they will crown you at the Olympic games,” said Apollonius; then turning to Iarchas: “Let us leave this drunken fool to himself: but tell me why you pay no attention to his son and brother, and do not admit them to your table?” “Because,” answered Iarchas, “they may one day rule, and by slighting them we teach them not to slight others.” Apollonius then remarking that the number of the Sophoi was 18, observed to Iarchas that it was not a square number, nor indeed a number at all honoured or distinguished. Iarchas in answer, told him that they paid no attention to number, but esteemed virtue only; he added that the college, when his grandfather entered it, consisted of eighty-seven Sophoi, and that his grandfather then found himself its youngest, and eventually in the one hundred and thirtieth<sup>1</sup> year of his age its only surviving member; that no eligible candidate having in all that time offered himself for admission, he remained four years without a colleague; and that when he then received from the Egyptians congratulations on his alone occupying the seat of wisdom, he begged them not to reproach India with the small number of its wise men. Iarchas then went on to blame the Elians, in that as he had heard from the Egyptians, they

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Batuta speaks of Hindus 120, 130, and 140 years of age. Burnes of one at Cabul of 114, apparently with all his faculties about him.—II., 109.

elected the Olympic dikasts by lot, and thus left to chance what should be the reward of merit ; and that they always elected the same number,—never more, never less ; and that they thus sometimes excluded good men and sometimes were obliged to choose bad ones. Better, he said, it had been if the Elians had allowed the number of the dikasts to vary with circumstances, but had always required in them the same qualifications.

The king here rudely interrupted them, and expressed his dislike of the Greeks, and spoke of the Athenians as the slaves of Xerxes ; Apollonius, turning to him, asked if he had any slaves of his own ? “Twenty thousand,” he answered, “and born in my house!” “Well, then,” said Apollonius (always through Iarchas), “as they run away from you, not you from them, so Xerxes, conquered at Salamis, fled like a worthless slave from before the Athenians.” “But surely,” observed the king, “Xerxes, with his own hands set fire to Athens?” “Yes,” said Apollonius, “but how fearful was his punishment ! He became a fugitive before those whom he had hoped to destroy ; and in that flight was most unhappy, for had he died by the hands of the Greeks, what a tomb would they not have built for him—what games not instituted in his memory !—as knowing that they honoured themselves when they honoured those whom they had subdued.” On this the king burst into tears, and excused himself, and attributed his prejudices against the Greeks to the tales and falsehoods of Egyptian travellers, who, while they boasted of their nation as wise and holy, and author of those laws relating to sacrifices and mysteries which obtain in Greece, described the Greeks as men of unsound judgment, the scum of men, *συγκλυδας*, insolent and lawless, romancers, and miracle-mongers, poor, and parading their poverty—not as something honourable, but as an excuse for theft. But now, he went on to say, that I know them to be full of goodness and honour, I hold them as my friends, and as my friends praise them, and wish them all the good I can, and I will no longer give credit to these Egyptians. Iarchas here observed that he had long perceived that the Egyptians had got the ear of the king, but that he said nothing, waiting till the king should meet with such a counsellor as Apollonius. But now that you are better taught, let us, he said, drink together the loving-cup of Tantalus ; and then to sleep, for we have business to transact to-night. I will however, as occasion offers, indoctrinate you in Greek wisdom, the fullest in the world. And so stooping to the cup, he drank first,

<sup>1</sup> According to Megasthenes, *εἶναι δὲ ἐν τῷδε μέγα ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῇ πάντας Ἰνδοὺς εἶναι ἐλευθέρους*.—Arrian Indica, xi. οὐδὲ Ἰνδοῖς ἄλλος δούλος ἐστι. Onesicritus limits this to the subjects of Musicanus.—Strabo, *ut sup.*, § 54.

and then handed it to the other guests ; and there was enough for all, for it bubbled up as if from a fountain.

They lay down to rest, and at midnight they rose, and aloft in the air hymned the praises of the sun's ray; the Sophoi then gave private audience to the king. Next morning early, after the sacred rites, the king having vainly pressed Apollonius to visit him retired to the village ; for by law he could not remain more than one day at the college. The Sophoi now sent for Damis, whom they admitted as a guest. The conversation then commenced, and Iarchas discoursed on the world ; how it is composed of five elements—water, fire, air, earth, and æther<sup>1</sup>; and how they are all co-ordinate, but that from æther the Gods, from air mortals, are generated ; how moreover the world is an animal, and hermaphrodite ; and how as hermaphrodite it reproduces by itself and of itself all creatures ; and how as intelligent it provides for their wants, and with scorching heats punishes their wrong-doing. And this world Iarchas further likened to one of those Egyptian ships<sup>2</sup> which navigate the Red Sea. By an old law, no galley is allowed there ; but only vessels round fore and aft (στοργυλοι), fitted for trade. Well, these vessels the Egyptians have enlarged by building up their sides, and fitting them with several decks ; and they have manned them with pilots at the prow ; seamen for the masts and sails ; and marines, as a guard against the barbarians ; and over and above them all, one pilot, who rules and directs the rest. So, in the world, there is the first God, its creator ; next him, the gods who rule its several parts—sung by the poets, as gods of rivers, groves, and streams ; gods above the earth, and gods under the earth ; and, perchance too there is below the earth, but distinct from it, a place terrible and deadly." Here, unable to contain himself, Damis cried out, in admiration : " Never could I have believed that any Indian was so thoroughly conversant with the Greek language, and could speak it with such fluency and eloquence !"

A messenger now announced and introduced several Indian supplicants—a child possessed, a lame and blind man, &c.,—all of whom were cured.

<sup>1</sup> Megasthenes (Strabo, *ut supra*, § 59) gives pretty nearly the same account of the Brahmanical doctrines, that the world has a beginning, and will have an end ; that God, its ruler and creator, pervades it ; that besides the four elements there is a fifth, æther ; and Alexander Polyhistor asserts that Pythagoras was a disciple of the Brahmins ; *Erg. Hist.*, III. § 138, p. 239, and p. 241 mentions æther as one of the Pythagorean elements.

<sup>2</sup> The boat among the Hindus is one of the types of the earth.—Wilford As. Res., viii. 274 ; Von Bohlen quotes this passage to prove that the Hindus had the knowledge of one God.—*Das Alto Indien*, i. 152.

Iarchas further initiated Apollonius, but not Damis, in astrology and divination, and in those sacrifices and invocations in which the gods delight. He spoke of the divining power, as raising a man to an equality with the Delphian Apollo, and as requiring a pure heart and a stainless life, and as therefore readily apprehensible by the æthereal soul of Apollonius. He extolled it as a source of immense good to mankind, and referred to it the physician's art—for was not *Æsculapius* the son of Apollo? and was it not through his oracles that he discovered the several remedies for diseases, herbs for wounds, &c.?

Then turning, in a pleasant way, to Damis,—“And you, Assyrian.” he said, “do you never foresee anything—you, the companion of such a man?” “Yes, by Jove,” answered Damis, “matters that concern myself; for when I first met with this Apollonius, he seemed to me a man full of wisdom and gravity and modesty and patience; and when I saw his memory and great learning and love of learning, I looked upon him as a sort of *Dæmon*; and I thought if I kept with him, that instead of a simple and ignorant man, I should be thought wise,—learned, instead of a barbarian; and that if I followed him and studied with him, I should see the Indians, and see you; and that through his means I should mix with the Greeks, a Greek. As to you then you are occupied with great things, and think Delphi and Dodona or what you will. As for me, when Damis predicts, he predicts for himself only, like an old witch.” At these words all the *Sophoi* laughed.

Apollonius inquired about the *Martichora*<sup>1</sup>, an animal the size of a lion, four-footed, with the head of man, its tail long with thorns for hairs, which it shoots out at those who pursue it;—about the golden fountain<sup>2</sup> too; and the men who use their feet for umbrellas, the *sciapods*<sup>3</sup>. Of the golden fountain and *Martichora*, Iarchas had never heard; but he told Apollonius of the *Pentarba*, and showed him the stone and its effects. It is a wonderful gem, about the size of a man's thumb-nail, and is found in the earth at a depth of four fathoms; but though it makes the ground to swell and crack, it can only be got at by the use of certain ceremonies and incantations. It is of a fiery colour and of extraordinary brilliancy, and of such power, that thrown into a stream it draws to it and clusters round it all precious stones

<sup>1</sup> Ctesias, p. 80, § 7; Didot.

<sup>2</sup> Id., p. 73. § 4. Wilson, Notes on Ctesias, explains and accounts for these myths.

<sup>3</sup> Id., § 104 and 84. Among the people of India, from Hindu authority quoted by Wilford, are the *Ecapada*, one-footed. “*Monosceli singulis cruribus, eodemque Sciapoda vocari*,” from Pliny (ib.) From Wilson's Notes, the one-footed and the *Sciapods* should be two different races.

within a certain considerable range<sup>1</sup>. The pigmies, he said, lived on the other side of the Ganges and under ground; but the Sciapods and Longheads were mere inventions of Soylax. He described also the gold-digging griffins; that they were sacred to the Sun (his chariot is represented as drawn by them<sup>2</sup>), about the size of lions<sup>3</sup>, but stronger because winged; that their wings were a reddish membrane, and hence their flight was low and spiral; that they overpowered lions, elephants, and dragons; and that the tiger alone, because of his swiftness, was their equal in flight. He told of the Phoenix, the one of his kind, born of the sun's rays, and shining with gold, and that his 500 years of life were spent in India; and he confirmed the Egyptian account of this bird—that singing his own dirge he consumed himself in his aromatic nest, at the fountains of the Nile. Similarly also swans, it is said, sing themselves to death, and have been heard by those who are very quick of ear.

They remained four months with the Sophoi; and Iarchas gave Apollonius seven rings, named after the seven planets, which he ever afterwards wore, each in its turn, on its name-day. When they took their departure, the Sophoi provided them with camels and a guide, and accompanied them on the road; and, prophesying that Apollonius would even during his life attain the honours of divinity, they took leave of him; and many times looking back, as in grief at parting with such a man, returned to their college. And Apollonius and his companions, with the Ganges on their right, the Hyphasis on their left (*sic*), travelled down towards the sea-coast, *a ten days' journey*, and on their road they saw many birds and wild oxen, asses and lions, panthers and tigers, and a species of ape different from those that frequent the pepper-groves, for they were black, hairy, and dog-faced, and like little men. And so conversing, as their custom was, of what they saw, they reached the coast, where they found a small factory, and passage-boats of a Tuscan build, and the sea of a very dark colour. Here Apollonius sent back the camels, with this letter to Iarchas:—

<sup>1</sup> Strabo from Megasthenes, *ib.*, § 56. Ctesias also mentions them.

<sup>2</sup> In the Vishnu Purana: "The seven horses of the sun's car are the metres of the Vedas," p. 218. Sculptured or painted horses always.

<sup>3</sup> Ctesias, p. 82, § 12, and p. 95, § 70. Wilson (*Ariana Antiqua*) has shown from the Mahabharata, that this story has an Indian foundation. "Those tribes between Meru and Mandura verily presented in lumps of a drona weight, that gold which is dug up by Pippilikas (ants), and which is therefore called 'Pippilika ant-gold,'" (p. 135, note); and see *A Journey to Lake Mānasarōvara*, by Moorcroft, who speaks of a sort of marmot in the gold country which Schwanbeck supposes to be the original of this ant.—*As. Res.*, xii. 442.

"To Iarchas and the other Sophoi from Apollonius, greeting: I came to you by land; through you I can now return by sea. You have communicated to me your wisdom, and through you I can now walk the air. I shall not forget these things even among the Greeks, unless, indeed, I have vainly drunk of the cup of Tantalus. Farewell, ye best philosophers."

Apollonius then embarked, and set sail with a fair and gentle breeze. He admired the Hyphasis, which at its mouth narrow and rocky hurries, through beetling cliffs, into the sea, with some danger to those who hug the land. He saw too the mouth of the Indus, and Patala, a city built on an island formed by the Indus, where Alexander collected his fleet. And Damis confirms what Orthagoras has related of the Red Sea—that the Great Bear is not there visible; that at noon there is no shadow; and that the stars hold a different position in the heavens.

He speaks of Byblus with its large mussels, and of Pagala of the Oritæ where the rocks and the sands are of copper; of the Ichthyophagi and their city Stobera, where the people clothe themselves in fish-skins, and feed their cattle on fish; of the Carman, an Indian race and civilized, who of the fish they catch keep only what they can eat, and throw the rest, living, back into the sea; and of Balara, where they anchored, a mart for myrrh and palms. He tells too of the mode in which the people get their pearls. In this sea, which is very deep, the oyster of a white shell is fat, but naturally produces no pearls. When however the weather is very calm and the sea smooth, and made still smoother by pouring oil upon it, the Indian diver, equipped as a sponge-cutter, with the addition of an iron plato and a box of myrrh, goes down to hunt for oysters. As soon as he has found one, he seats himself beside it, and with his myrrh stupefies it and makes it open its shell. The moment it does this, he strikes it with a skewer, and receives on his iron plato cut into shapes the ichor which is discharged from its wound. In these shapes the ichor hardens, and the pearls thus made differ in nothing from real pearl.<sup>1</sup> This sea, he adds, is full of monsters, from which the sailors protect themselves by bells at the poop and prow. Thus sailing, they at last reach the Euphrates, and so up to Babylon, and again meet Bardanes.

In reviewing this account of India, our first enquiry is into the authority on which it rests. Damis was the companion of Apollonius,

<sup>1</sup> Is this an indistinct and garbled account of the Chinese mode of making pearls described in a late *Journal of the Society*?



so Philostratus and not improbably public rumour affirmed. Damis wrote a journal, and, though no scholar, was according to Philostratus as capable as any man of correctly noting down what he saw and heard<sup>1</sup>. But Damis died, and his journal, if journal he kept, lay buried with him for upwards of a century, till one of his family presented it to the Empress Julia Domna, the wife of Severus, curious in such matters—But in what state?—untouched?—with no additions to suit the Empress's taste? Who shall tell? Again, the Empress did not order this journal to be published, but gave it to Philostratus, a sophist and a rhetorician, with instructions to re-write and edit it; and so re-written and edited he at length published it, but not till after the death of his patroness, the Empress. Weighing then these circumstances, all open to grave suspicion, every one must admit that the journal of Damis gives no authority to Philostratus's work; but that this last, and more especially the books which relate to India, may give authority to the journal and history. By their contents then they must be judged.

That Apollonius should pay little attention to, and not very accurately describe, external objects, might be expected. One can understand that, occupied with the soul and the gods, he should toil up the Hindu-kush without one remark on its snow-covered peaks—one plaint on the difficulties and dangers of its ascent<sup>2</sup>. But how explain these lengthy descriptions of animals and natural wonders that never had existence? If you put forward Damis—of the earth, earthy—an eager and credulous listener, you have still to show how it is, that these descriptions so exactly tally with those of Ctesias and the historians of Alexander; how it is they are never original, except to add to our list of errors, or to exaggerate errors already existing. Thus, on Caucasus, more fortunate than the soldiers of Alexander, he not only hears of Prometheus, but sees his chains. He climbs Mount Nysa, and has to tell of Bacchus and his orgies,—now no longer the inventions of flattery as Eratosthenes so shrewdly suspected,—for did not Damis there find his temple and his statue?—In general terms Seleucus Nicator and Onesicritus had vaunted the long life of elephants; but in Taxila, Damis admired the elephant of Porus, and on its golden bracelets read its name and age. Copying Ctesias, he speaks of the

<sup>1</sup> Διατριβὴν ἀναγραφᾶι, ἃ ὅτι ἤκουσεν ἡ εἰδὲν ἀνατυπῶσαι—σφόδρα ἱκανὸς ἦν, ἃ ἐπετεῖνε τοῦτο ἀρίστα ἀνθρώπων.—I., c. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Dangers which not even Hiouen-Tsang was indifferent to; but Apollonius's indifference we may account for by an observation of Cicero: "In India, qui sapientes habentur, nudi rotantur agunt, et Caucasi nives hyemalemque vim perforant sine dolore."—Tusc. Quæst., L. v.

Indus, forty stadia broad where narrowest<sup>1</sup>; of giant Indians, five cubits high; of worms, with an inextinguishable oil; of winged griffins, but instead of large as wolves, he makes them large as lions; and of the swift one-horned ass, and the jewel Pantarbas, both of which he and Apollonius saw. Similarly of two serpents or dragons, 80 and 140 cubits respectively, pets of Aposeisares, Onesicritus had heard, but Damis was present at a dragon-hunt, and had seen dragons' heads hanging as trophies in the streets of Paraka. Surely such information, not put forward as mere reports, but solemnly vouched for, can never have come from a man who has really visited India, or they came from one of as little authority as Mendez Pinto, when he gives an account of his expedition to and a description of the imperial tombs of China.

But, it will be said, these wonders were the common stock in trade of Indian travellers; every man believed in them, and every man who went to India and wrote of India, was ashamed of not seeing at least as much as his predecessors. Leaving then these common-places, examine Damis where he is original, or nearly so. To him we owe the porphyry temple and the metal mosaics at Taxila; to him, that spur of Caucasus, stretching down from the Indian side of the Hyphasis to the Indian Ocean; to him, its pepper-forests, and its monkeys, so useful in gathering the pepper-harvests. Through him we know of the groves sacred to Venus, and the unguent so necessary to an Indian marriage. He alone tells of the wondrous hill; its crater-fire of pardon, its rain-cask, and its brimming-cup of Tantalus; and though of casks of the winds, and of self-acting tripods, Homer had already written; and though of a well of the test, Ctesias had vaguely heard, and its qualities Bardasanes had described, to Damis belongs this merit, he gave them local habitation, made them facts. With the Sophoi he lived four months in closest intimacy, and yet from his description of them, who shall say, who and what they were? To the powers he ascribes to them both Buddhists and Brahmans pretend. But while their mode of election, determined by ancestral and personal character, points them out as Buddhists, their name, their long hair, their worship of the sun, declare them Brahmans<sup>2</sup>. But Buddhist or Brahman, at their feet after a long and weary travel Apollonius sits a disciple, and they instruct him—in doctrines and

<sup>1</sup> Philostratus scarcely so strong, *το γὰρ πλωμιον αὐτοῦ τοσούτου*, its breadth at the ferry where people usually cross.—II., 17 and 18.

<sup>2</sup> Bardasanes, who knew of Brahmans and Buddhists only from report, has given a very clear and intelligible account of both. I have already referred to it.—Porphyry, iv. 17.

opinions which were current at Athens. In the very heart of India he finds its sages, though "inland far they be," well acquainted with Greek geography and the navigation of the Grecian seas, worshipping Greek gods, speaking Greek, thinking Greek,—more Greek than Indian. Absurd and impossible as this description seems to us, our Damis, if I judge him rightly, was not the man to advance what the Greek mind was wholly unprepared to receive. Accordingly, long ago Clitarchus and the historians of Alexander, had announced an Indo-Greek Bacchus; to him, Megasthenes added a Hercules; and, more recently, Plutarch had proclaimed, I know not on what authority, that the Indians were worshippers of the Greek gods<sup>1</sup>. Vague rumours of such a worship were not improbably current; and Damis's journal merely confirmed them. Similarly, Nicolaus Damascenus<sup>2</sup> first mentioned the Greek language in connexion with India. He states, that when at Antioch Epidaphne (20 B.C.), he met with some Indian ambassadors on their way to Augustus Cæsar. They were three in number whom he saw, and had originally been more, as their letters showed, but the greater part had perished on the road. Their letter of credence was on parchment, and written in the name of Porus, and in Greek. It declared that Porus, though lord over 600 kings, much valued the friendship of Augustus, and was ready to open his kingdom to him and his people, and give him and them all due assistance. Such was the tenor of the letter. The presents accompanying it were in the charge of eight naked slaves in girdles well anointed, and consisted of a youth whose arms, when he was a child, had been cut off at the shoulders<sup>3</sup>—a sort of Hermes, whom Strabo himself saw—some vipers, a snake ten cubits long, a river tortoise of four cubits, and a partridge somewhat larger than a vulture. Among the ambassadors was that Indian who burned himself at Athens, not as some do, to escape from present evils, but because having hitherto succeeded in every thing, he feared lest any longer life should bring him misery and disappointment; and so, joyous and well-anointed, he leaped into the burning pile. This inscription is on his tomb:—"Here lies Zarmamos Chogan<sup>4</sup>, of Bargosa, who, according to his country's custom, gave himself immortality." Plutarch (end of the 1st century) though

<sup>1</sup> *Vide supra*, note 4, in page 88.

<sup>2</sup> *Frag. Hist.*, § 91, p. 419.

<sup>3</sup> The words are: *εἶναι δὲ τα ἔσχατα τὸν τε Ἑρμῆν ἀπὸ τῶν ὤμων ἀσχημημένον ἐκ νηπίου τοὺς βραχίονας, ὃν δὲ ἡμεῖς εἶδομεν*. Lassen has translated this a statue of Hermes, the arms of which had been broken off at the shoulders by a boy. To say nothing of the harshness of construction which such a translation would imply, a passage from Dio Cassius speaks of this Hermes as a youth.

<sup>4</sup> Çramana Karja, teacher of the Çramans.—Lassen, iii. 60.

he does not name the Indians in enumerating the great deeds of Alexander, narrates that by his means Asia was civilised and Homer read there, and that the children<sup>1</sup> of Persians, Susians, and Gedrosians sang the tragedies of Euripides and Sophocles. Dio Chrysostom<sup>2</sup>, (cotemporary with Plutarch, and a friend of Apollonius), in a panegyric upon Homer, insists upon his wide-spread reputation; that he lived in the memory, not only of Greeks, but of many of the barbarians; "for his poems, it is said, are sung by the Indians, who have translated them into their own language; so that a people who do not contemplate the same stars as ourselves,—in whose heaven our polar star is not visible,—are not unacquainted with the grief of Priam, and the tears and wailings of Hecuba and Andromache, and the courage of Achilles and Hector." Ælian, of about the same age as Philostratus, tells us that not only the Indians, but the kings of Persia also, have translated and sung the poems of Homer, if one can credit those who write on these matters<sup>3</sup>. On such vague authority, coupled doubtless with the fact that an Indo-Greek kingdom had formerly existed, and had at one time extended to the Jumna, and that barbaric kings so honoured Greece, that on their coins they entitled themselves Philhellene<sup>4</sup>, Damis built up this part of his romance, which flattered Greek prejudices and soothed Greek vanity, and was willingly received by that influential and educated class to whom it was addressed, and who were struggling to give new life and energy to the perishing religion of Greece.

Of Damis's geography, I can only say that it reminds me of a fairy tale. As soon as he leaves the well-known scene of Alexander's exploits, he crosses mountains unknown to any map, and then describes an immense plain of fifteen days' journey to the Ganges, and eighteen days to the Red Sea, but which he himself travels over in fourteen days; for in four days he reaches the hill of the Sophoi, and thence, in ten days, arrives at the one mouth of the Hyphasis. Who shall explain these discrepancies, account for these mistakes, and fix localities thus vaguely described?

Reviewing the whole work of Philostratus, it seems to me that Apollonius certainly pretended to have travelled through, and made some stay in India, but that very possibly he did not really visit it; and that if he did visit it, our Damis never accompanied him; but, if we may judge from the cinnamon and pepper-trees, the mangosteen, the

<sup>1</sup> Καὶ Περσῶν ἃ Σουσιανῶν ἃ Γεδρωσιῶν παῖδες τὰς Εὐριπίδου ἃ Σοφοκλέους τραγῳδίαις ᾗδον, *ut supra*.

<sup>2</sup> De Homero Oratio, LIII., 277; p. II. Reisko.

<sup>3</sup> Varro Hist., L. xii., c. 48.

<sup>4</sup> Bayer Reg. Græc. Bactriana Hist., p. 117.

trade in pearls, and the frequent reference to Egypt and Egyptian travellers, fabricated this journal perhaps from books written upon India, and tales<sup>1</sup> current about India, which he easily collected at that great mart for Indian commodities, and resort for Indian merchants—Alexandria.

<sup>1</sup> Tracenable to the same sources as those from which Dio Chrysostom obtained his stories about India. In his oration to the people of Alexandria, he speaks of Bactrians, Scythians, Persians, and a few Indians (Ινδων τινας), as frequenting their city (Ib. I, p. 672); and as authority for his Indian tale to the Celeni, he gives: *τινες των αφικνουμενων εφασαν' αφικνουνται δε ου πολλοι τινες εμποριας ενεκει. ουτοι δι επιμηνυνται τοις προς θαλαττη' τουτο δε ατιμον εστιν Ινδων το γενοσ, οι τε αλλοι ψεγουσιν αυτους.*—II., 72, p. 3.

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